/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[182] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

171 are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frîga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

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[829]
[184] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux"
[114] /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/247 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

791 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1);

[616] [783] [789]

[173]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/256 cont./

778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

• 771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

[128]

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

778 /287 cont./
776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
794 Bu^{c}anfir in Ud Besseba^{c} used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great medersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mlad, in [685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide [554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom [771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennaçer of Tawlukult[1]

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront
771 each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supernatural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/311 cont./

771 History has prevailed over myth here. But it has been able to do it only by reason of the vocation, so characteristic of these groups, to /312/ affirm their temporal administration. We see this capacity being exercised on the very echelon of the canton feasts. What is dominant here is not the communional aspect, it is the contractual aspect. Auctions, sales on credit, notarial registration: the profane goes beyond the ancient sacrificial rite on all sides. An individualist debate, a communal administration, purely juridical operations already appear, and are displayed with a growing profusion as the cadre of activity becomes larger. Henceforth, law and religion are going to take separate roads.

776 And here is a holiness of great individuals and of great spaces.
771 Its tentacular action could be represented on the map, from the Haouz to the Sous and to the Drâ. Its protection is solicited from far away. Its avidity is exercised even farther. It is served in free order, with particular devotions of groups, villages, families. This mysticism with geographic expression tends itself toward another, more secret form. That of personal affiliation with a master. This phenomenon, in North Africa, has known, under the name of confrerism, an extension to which, for at least half a century, has corresponded an excessive infatuation of our investigators. In the confrerism, most often and essentially esoteric, the local community does not act, or acts less. An atmosphere of organization and of hierarchy reigns. Concurrently, the hagiological individuation assumes an extraordinary relief. Like sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, these "beacons"...

771 In short, in the course of this ascension, we shall have seen several layers of religious reality succeeding one another. On the two ends, rival forms, being exercised fully. Below, the anonymous naturist sacred of the Tamjlocht, for example, a place of deep collective vibration; on the other, the great figure of the mystic of the Tazerwalt, and his idealism with broad oriental and Mediterranean correspondences. Almost absolute social integration on the one side. Individualism colored with mystery and legend on the other. Rural order below. Initiatory wisdom above.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individ- 792 ual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

/317 cont./

787 538 /footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t't'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then 778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee 776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/370 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

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/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ʿanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

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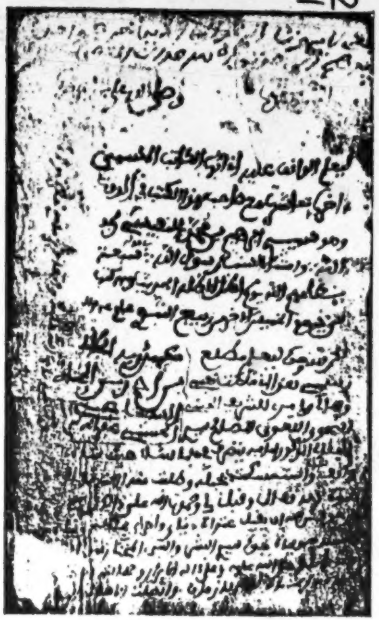
1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/390 cont./
776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and [illegible] of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood [illegible] the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

• 771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences [779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
179 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

1: Berque--662 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shlub MW11



Pl. XV

Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik, dating from 1194 Heg. 1780, made at the zâwîya of Takerkuzt, and collected on the margin of a book of the zâwîya of the Mez'ud'a.

Juridical text of the Awzal genre

The first line reads: wala aytma-sn-yan ur ten-d iqqin ljad silad gh-lmalikiyya, "no longer that the brothers of someone are excluded (from his succession) by (the existence of) the ancestor except in Malékism."

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621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

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776 [778] [619] Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each *[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several confederations. [782] It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an [778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 [619] [778] The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators 695 671 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 789 [778] Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences. [173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

• 771 178 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./

771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
•791 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [691]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.